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REPORT TO THE XIX CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

ON CHANGES IN THE RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

By N. KHRUSHCHEV

TOGETHER WITH THE FULL TEXT OF THE RULES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
ADOPTED BY THE XIX CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

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On CHANGES in the RULES
of the COMMUNIST PARTY
of the SOVIET UNION

By N. ^{ikita}Khrushchev

RULES of the COMMUNIST
PARTY
of the SOVIET UNION

*Adopted unanimously by the
XIX Congress of the C.P.S. U.*

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NOTE TO THE READER

THIS PAMPHLET contains the full, verified text of the report of N. Khrushchev to the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow, in October, 1952. Together with the report, this pamphlet contains the complete text of the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as amended and unanimously adopted by the Congress on October 13, 1952.

In his report, N. Khrushchev, a member of the newly-elected Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., discusses such questions as the role, structure and organization of the C.P.S.U., the rights and duties of Party members, inner-Party democracy, etc.

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ON CHANGES IN THE RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

By N. KHRUSHCHEV

IN THE Patriotic War, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, upheld their great socialist conquests by their heroic struggle and scored victories of world-historic importance. After the war, the working people of our country, by their self-sacrificing constructive labors, ensured the successful fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of peaceful economic development, and registered major achievements in all branches of economy, science and culture. With the expansion of our economy, the material and cultural standards of our people are steadily rising.

These victories and achievements are the result of the correct policy of the Communist Party, of the wise guidance of its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee and of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

The successes registered by our country were due to the fact that the Party carried on extensive and indefatigable organizational work among the masses to attain the goals charted by Stalin's genius. The organizational work of the Communist Party united all the efforts of the Soviet people and directed them towards the one aim of defeating the enemy in the stern years of the war, and of rapidly rehabilitating and promoting the further development of the national economy, of successfully fulfilling the plans of communist construction, after the war.

The Soviet people's road to communism is illumined by the majestic ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party derives its strength from the fact that it is armed with a knowledge of the laws of social development and is guided in its activities by Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

Comrade Stalin's statements comprised in the book, *The Great*

Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, his Marxism and Linguistics, and the decisions of the Central Committee on ideological questions are of immense importance to the work of ideological education in our country.*

A new and inestimable contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory is Comrade Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* In this work, creatively developing the science of Marxism-Leninism, he arms the Party and the Soviet people with the theory of the character of the economic laws of modern capitalism and socialism, and of the preliminary conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

Comrade Stalin's work on economic problems, like his other writings, is of immense value in the solving of the problems connected with the building of a communist society, and in educating Party members and all the working people in the immortal ideas of Leninism.

Now that the Soviet people are tackling with fresh energy the grand program of works for the building of a communist society, the directing and organizing role of the Communist Party becomes ever greater, and the value of its organizational and ideological educational work grows ever more important.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that after a correct line has been laid down, after the correct solution of a problem has been indicated, success depends upon organizational work, upon the organization of the effort to carry the Party line into effect.

The tasks now confronting us make still higher demands upon the Party organizations and upon all Communists, and these demands must be borne in mind in practical Party work and Party development.

Our Party is constantly perfecting its methods of work, and it modifies its structural forms in conformity with the conditions and the new tasks confronting it.

Since the Eighteenth Congress new experience has been gained in the conduct of Party affairs, and this should be reflected in the Party Rules. Consideration must also be given to the fact that certain provisions in the Rules adopted at the last congress have become antiquated. This makes it necessary to introduce certain amendments and addenda in the Party Rules.

* All titles listed on this page are published by International Publishers, New York.

New Name of the Party and Definition of Its Principal Objectives in the Rules

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE considers that the time has come to amend the name of our Party. It is proposed that the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) should henceforth be called the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

This correction is desirable for the following reasons:

First, the name "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" would be more accurate. This name of a party which is the ruling Party in our country would correspond more closely to the names of the government bodies of the Soviet Union;

Second, there is no need today to preserve the double name of the Party—Communist and Bolshevik—since the words "Communist" and "Bolshevik" express one and the same thing.

In the history of our Party, the addition of the word "Bolsheviks" to its name was of immense importance in principle. In pre-revolutionary days, when the Party was called the "Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party," the addition of the word "Bolsheviks" indicated membership of a party of a new type, a Leninist Party, which implacably fought the Mensheviks and other parties and groups hostile to the proletariat, for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the October Revolution, when the Seventh Congress changed the name of our Party to the Communist Party, the addition of the word "Bolsheviks" was retained, since it had won rights of citizenship not only in the political life of our country, but also abroad.

It was in this way that the Party came to have a double name—Communist and Bolshevik. But, as I have already said, the words "Communist" and "Bolshevik" actually mean one and the same thing. And although, comrades, we are all accustomed to calling the Communists Bolsheviks, there is no need to retain the double name in the Party Rules.

It is further proposed to give in Article One a brief definition of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its principal objects, in the following wording:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of like-minded people, Communists, consisting of

members of the working class, working peasants and working intellectuals.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, having organized an alliance of the working class and the laboring peasantry, achieved as a result of the Revolution of October 1917, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landlords, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elimination of capitalism and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and ensured the building of a socialist society.

"The principal objects of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union today are to build a communist society through gradual transition from socialism to communism, continuously to raise the living and cultural standards of society, to educate the members of society in the spirit of internationalism and fraternal ties with the working people of all countries, and to strengthen to the utmost the active defense of the Soviet Motherland against aggressive actions on the part of its enemies."

The first article of the Rules describes with the utmost conciseness, but very profoundly, the Party's great achievements in the past, and defines its principal objectives in the future.

For over half a century our Party has been leading the revolutionary movement and unceasingly cementing its ranks. United by clarity of aim and singleness of will and action, it today more than ever before represents a united militant union of like-minded people, Communists; and this fact the draft Rules proposes to register.

It was under the leadership of the Party that the Great October Socialist Revolution which overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords in our country was accomplished and that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was formed and consolidated. The Communist Party created the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in the world, and secured the building of a socialist society. These epoch-making achievements are reflected in the first article of the draft Rules.

The activities of the Communist Party are entirely subordinated to one great aim—the building of communism in our country through the creation of the necessary preliminary conditions for the radical transition from a socialist to another and higher economy, a communist economy. The building of a communist society has now become the practical task of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The aims set by the Communist Party inspire the Soviet people to strive to over-

fulfill the Fifth Five-Year Plan, to achieve new victories in the building of communism.

Qualifications For Party Membership

THE COMMUNIST PARTY attaches the greatest importance to the question of qualifications for membership, which is a fundamental factor of its development. The greatest concern has always been displayed by the leaders of the Party, Lenin and Stalin, to keep the ranks of the Party pure, to elevate the import and significance of the title of Party member, to enhance the Party's organizational strength and solidarity. The Party derives its strength from the high level of political consciousness of every Communist and his sense of responsibility for the implementation of the Party's ideas and decisions.

In order still further to elevate the import and significance of the title of member of the Communist Party, the draft Rules propose a new wording for the article defining the qualifications required for Party membership:

"Membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is open to any working citizen of the Soviet Union who does not exploit the labor of others, accepts the Party's program and Rules, actively helps to carry them into effect, works in one of the organizations of the Party and fulfills all Party decisions.

"Party members shall pay the established membership dues." As a result of the victory of socialism in our country, exploiting classes have been abolished and exploitation of man by man no longer exists. Soviet society consists of friendly classes. The Soviet people are morally and politically united as never before.

The statement in the Rules that any working citizen of the Soviet Union who does not exploit the labor of others may be a member of the Party registers the achievements won by the Communist Party and reflects the fact that it consists of members of the working class, working peasants and working intellectuals.

The new tasks confronting the Party in the building of a communist society demand that the responsibility of every Communist for the Party's cause should be further enhanced. That is why the proposed article on Party membership states that to be a member of the Party one must not only accept its program and

Rules, but must also actively help to carry them out and must fulfill all Party decisions.

The Duties of Party Members

IN ORDER still further to elevate the vanguard role of Party members in the building of communism, a fuller definition must be given in the Rules of the duties of Party members and the corresponding article must be supplemented with new clauses.

It is proposed, first of all, to record that it is the duty of Party members to do their utmost to protect the Party's unity, as being the chief requisite for its power and strength.

Concern for the unity of the Party is the primary duty of a Communist. It would therefore be perfectly right to begin the enumeration of the duties of Party members with this fundamental demand.

The source of our Party strength and of its great victories has always been, and always will be, the unbreakable unity and monolithic solidarity of its ranks. It was not for nothing that the enemies of the Party—the Trotsky-Bukharin traitors and renegades—tried time and again to split the ranks of the Party and to shake its unity. Led by Stalin, our Party completely shattered every attempt of the enemies of Leninism to disrupt the Party's unity.

The Communist Party comes to its Nineteenth Congress welded more monolithically than ever before, united and powerful, solidly cemented around its Central Committee and the genius who is its leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

In the period since the Eighteenth Congress, the Party has grown and steeled itself in battle against both the war difficulties and the postwar difficulties. This period has been marked by the further strengthening of the Party organizations and the development of inner-Party democracy.

However, the level of Party political work still falls short of the demands of the times, and of the tasks put forward by the Party. In the work of the Party organizations there are shortcomings and errors.

Comrade Malenkov's report* on the work of the Central Committee disclosed shortcomings, errors, undesirable and at times even noxious features in the work of the Party organizations, and

* *On the Threshold of Communism*, New Century Publishers, N. Y.

indicated ways and means of eliminating and overcoming them.

The attention of all Party organizations and of all Communists must be centered on the necessity of working persistently to carry out Party and government decisions and directives, in which the policy of our Party is embodied. We must enhance to the utmost the efficiency of every Party organization, still further strengthen Party and state discipline, improve our organizational work, and stimulate the activity of Communists in combating shortcomings in the life and work of Party organizations.

There is a ripe necessity to lay down in the Rules that it is the duty of Party members to be active fighters for the implementation of Party decisions.

It should be observed that there are quite a number of members of our Party who adopt a formal and passive attitude towards the carrying out of its decisions. There are Communists, unfortunately, who profess to be in agreement with Party decisions, but actually pigeonhole them, are indifferent towards the work entrusted to them, and display little concern or energy in seeing to it that the tasks set are effectively carried out. Such people are quite unperturbed if decisions of Party or Government are being carried out unsatisfactorily in the sector placed in their charge. They are slack and indolent in their work, display neither initiative nor perseverance. What could easily be done today they put off to the morrow, and not infrequently smother a vital matter in a maze of red tape.

Some leaders of Party organizations do not take sufficiently energetic measures against those who adopt a formal attitude towards Party directives, and do little to inculcate in the cadres a high sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to them.

A formal, passive attitude towards Party decisions is a grave evil, and one which the Party must vigorously combat. Such an attitude on the part of Communists towards Party decisions undermines the Party's efficiency. It is therefore necessary to write into the Rules that a formal and passive attitude towards Party decisions is incompatible with continuance in the Party's ranks.

Another evil to be met with in our Party is that some Communists have the mistaken notion that there are two disciplines in our Party—one for rank-and-file members, the other for leaders. There are quite a number of executives who believe that laws are not meant for them. Imagining that they can do anything

they like, they turn the factories or offices under their care into their private domain, where they introduce their own "code" and their own "discipline," and disregard state discipline. They pay no heed to the decisions of Party organizations or to the opinion of the Party masses. Wherever such bureaucrats with Party cards in their pockets rule the roost, there you will find all sorts of outrageous things being done.

Naturally, the Party cannot tolerate such a baronial, anti-Party notion of discipline. This evil, too, must be vigorously eradicated, because it undermines Party and state discipline and thereby does serious damage to the interests of Party and state.

The interests of Party and state demand of every Communist, no matter what post he may hold, a high sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to him and the strictest observance of Party and state discipline, which must be one and the same for all Party members, irrespective of their past services or the positions they occupy. It must be written into the Rules that violation of Party or state discipline is a grave evil, seriously detrimental to the Party, and therefore incompatible with continuance in its ranks.

The Party has always attached immense importance to the development of criticism and self-criticism, especially of criticism from below, to the necessity of bringing shortcomings into the light of day, and to combating the tendency to make a pretense that all is well and becoming enraptured with successes achieved. Our Party is strong precisely for the fact that it is not afraid of criticism and draws from criticism of its shortcomings the energy to continue its forward movement.

But it has to be acknowledged that there is still a tendency in Party organizations to underrate the importance of criticism and self-criticism in the activities of Party and state. Some executives in whom the Party has reposed its trust and who have been appointed to responsible posts consider that the Party's repeated injunction concerning the necessity of developing criticism and self-criticism does not apply to them; they gloss over errors and shortcomings, and make a show of all being well and foster an atmosphere of smug complacency. Criticism and self-criticism often meet with the stubborn resistance of certain "skin-deep" Communists.

It has been found that no little damage is caused to the Party by Communists who never tire of professing their fidelity to the

Party, but who actually cannot tolerate criticism from below and stifle it.

Suppressors of criticism resort to the most diverse forms and methods of victimizing critics. We meet with cases of good and honest workers being dismissed only because they spoke up against shortcomings, cases of intolerable conditions being created for people who criticize executives. There are even instances when leading workers use intimidation against comrades who come forward with sound critical observations and compel them to recant and give an undertaking to refrain from criticizing shortcomings in the future.

It should be remarked that sometimes ugly facts of this kind take place in the sight of Party organizations, and even with the connivance of leaders of Party organizations, whose duty it is to combat every slightest manifestation of suppression of criticism. We have an example of this in the case of certain Party organizations in the Rostov Region, where the importance of self-criticism was underrated and the necessary conditions for the stimulation of criticism from below were not created. The result was that in some of the Party organizations, executives who had turned bureaucrats, took vengeance on Communists who came forward with criticism of shortcomings. The case in point was the Railroad district in Rostov.

The Rostov city and regional Party committees had been receiving warnings that certain leaders of the Railroad district Party committee were connected with thieves and grafters and were persecuting Communists for exposing abuses; but they did not take timely measures, and the criminals acted with impunity for some considerable time. By decision of the Party Central Committee, those guilty of suppressing criticism and of other abuses were expelled from the Party and legal proceedings were instituted against them.

The most vigorous measures must be taken against all who hamper the development of criticism and self-criticism. Only if self-criticism and criticism from below are developed to the utmost can we successfully overcome and sweep from our path all obstacles to our advance towards communism.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that self-criticism is as necessary to us as air or water; that without it our Party could not have progressed, could not have eliminated our shortcomings. Self-criticism

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is part of the very foundation of our Party. The Communist Party is the directing and organizing force of Soviet society; it is the ruling Party in our country. Comrade Stalin impresses upon us that we must ourselves bring to light and correct our errors if we want to advance, that there is nobody else to bring them to light and correct them for us. Self-criticism must become one of the biggest forces promoting our advancement.

Practice has shown that mere explanation of the importance of criticism is not enough. It will therefore be perfectly correct to write into the Rules, that it is the duty of Party members to develop self-criticism and criticism from below, to bring to light shortcomings in work and to strive to eliminate them, to combat every tendency to make a pretense of all being well and to indulge in raptures over achievements in work. The Rules must take Party members who come forward with criticism of shortcomings in work under their protection, must defend them against suppressors of criticism. He who hampers the development of self-criticism, who stifles criticism, who substitutes ostentatious show and adulation for it, is unworthy of the lofty title of Party member.

It should be said in this connection that the pernicious opinion is prevalent among some Communists that Party members ought not to inform leading Party bodies of shortcomings in work. We not infrequently meet with cases of responsible executives preventing Communists from disclosing an abnormal state of affairs to leading Party bodies on the plea that this interferes with their work. There are still among our leading executives bigwigs and bureaucrats who consider that rank-and-filers have no right to inform higher bodies of shortcomings in work, and must not do so. Some executives even go to the length of persecuting people who report shortcomings in work to leading Party bodies and to the Central Committee. The Party must naturally wage merciless war on such high-handed potentates.

It is stated in the present Rules that a Party member has the right to address any statement to any Party authority, up to and including the Central Committee. This, as we see, is not enough. The Rules should state that a Party member not only has the right, but is in duty bound to inform leading Party bodies, up to and including the Central Committee, of shortcomings in work, irrespective of person; and as to those who hinder Party members from performing this duty, it should be written into the Rules

that such persons are liable to stern punishment as violators of the will of the Party.

Another grave evil prevalent among some of the Communists is concealment of the truth from the Party, the tendency to behave dishonestly and untruthfully towards it.

Some executives, as facts disclosed by the Central Committee and the Government testify, are not above-board with the Party and the state, try to deceive them, to conceal from the authorities what material resources they have at their disposal. This indicates that the anti-state practice of setting narrow departmental interests higher than the interests of state and Party has not yet been completely eradicated.

Some executives try to paint their affairs in too rosy a light, practice deceit, and in their reports on plan fulfillment credit themselves with what they have not performed.

We meet with executives who, in violation or evasion of Soviet law, turn out a product which is not complete in all its details, or which is of inferior quality but is represented by them as of first-class quality, resulting in grave injury to the state and to the interests of the consumer.

Obviously, the Party cannot tolerate swindlers in its ranks, for their criminal actions tend to undermine confidence in the Party and to cause moral corruption in the Communist ranks. "He who lies can be nobody's friend," the proverb rightly says. Deceivers must be dragged into the light of day; we must mete out stern punishment to them and rid our ranks of them. At the same time, the Party organizations must train Communists to be strictly truthful and honest and jealously to guard the interests of Party and state.

From these considerations, it is proposed to write into the Rules that Party members must be truthful and honest with the Party, must not conceal or distort the truth, and that untruthfulness or deception practiced by a Communist towards the Party is a grave evil and is incompatible with continuance in its ranks.

It should further be stated in the Rules that it is the duty of Party members to guard Party and state secrets and to display political vigilance, and that divulgence of Party or state secrets is a crime against the Party and incompatible with continuance in its ranks.

The necessity for such an addendum is dictated by the fact

that lack of political watchfulness and circumspection and the divulgence of Party and state secrets have become a fairly widespread phenomenon among Communists. Many executives are so carried away by their business achievements that they forget the Party's injunction concerning the necessity of exercising the utmost vigilance. We must never forget the capitalist world around us, the fact that the enemies of the socialist state have tried, and will continue to try, to smuggle in their agents for subversive work in our country. Hostile elements endeavor to worm their way into posts in Party, government and economic organizations and to utilize for the furtherance of their own infamous ends ungarded and indiscreet individuals who are incapable of preserving Party and state secrets.

The Party organizations must put a vigorous stop to such manifestations of lack of political watchfulness, and must educate the Communists strictly to guard Party and state secrets. It is a cardinal condition for the further strengthening of our Party and the Soviet state that Communists should exercise the utmost vigilance and mercilessly combat all machinations on the part of hostile elements. It is the bounden duty of Communists to remember that vigilance is essential on all sectors.

A decisive condition for the successful fulfillment of political and economic tasks is the proper selection, allocation and education of personnel in all departments of Party and state affairs. Thanks to the measures taken by the Party, the composition of our leading personnel has considerably improved. But it would be a mistake to think that there are no shortcomings in this important work. It must be confessed that a grave evil in many Party, Soviet and economic organizations is a wrong approach to the selection of personnel, selection being made not on the basis of professional and political qualifications, but from considerations of friendship, personal loyalty, hometown ties or kinship.

Wherever such a close coterie of friends, relatives or fellow townsmen arises, there you are bound to have a morass, a tendency to cover up one another's shortcomings, the formation of a mutual protection society.

We know of instances when heads of organizations or departments, motivated by considerations of relationship or friendship, take under their protection workers who have made a hash of their jobs and transfer them from post to post, to the detriment of the

general interest. Some executives are quite unprincipled and give favorable and laudatory testimonials to people who have made a failure of their jobs and have been dismissed from their posts, thereby helping them to secure appointment to some other responsible position.

Violation of Party principles in the selection of personnel has the effect of contaminating the staffs of enterprises and offices with objectionable elements, with rogues and scoundrels, and creates a favorable soil for abuses of every description.

Instead of strictly observing the Party's requirement that personnel should be selected on the grounds of political and professional qualifications, the heads of some organizations strive to surround themselves with toadies, lickspittles and incompetents, and to squeeze out honest elements who have the interests of the work at heart and who set their faces against shortcomings.

It goes without saying that such a selection of personnel has nothing in common with the principles laid down by the Party and is detrimental to its interests.

We must raise the selection of personnel in all sectors of the Party, state and economic apparatus to a higher level, and hold the heads of factories, organizations and institutions more strictly accountable for the proper selection of personnel.

It must be stated in the Rules that it is the duty of Party members undeviatingly to observe the Party's injunctions that personnel must be selected on the basis of their political and professional qualifications, and it must be laid down that infringement of these injunctions, selection of personnel from considerations of friendship, personal loyalty, hometown ties or kinship, is incompatible with continuance in the ranks of the Party.

Inclusion in the Party rules of these new clauses on the duties of Party members reflects the greater political maturity and activity of Communists, and testifies to the broad development of inner-Party democracy, which is a distinguishing feature of our Party's development. These addenda are designed still further to stimulate the initiative of the Party masses. They will spur the Communists to greater activity and will be an important means of enhancing all the organizational and political work of the Party organizations, so that the material and intellectual forces and resources at the disposal of the Party and the state may be utilized most effectively to speed our country's advance to communism.

Next, it is necessary to touch on the addenda concerning the procedure of examining the question of expulsions from the Party of Communists who are members of elective leading Party bodies. It is proposed to make it a rule that primary Party organizations cannot pass on the expulsion of Communists who are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, or of territorial, regional, area, city or district Party committees.

The expulsion of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic, or of a territorial, regional, area, city or district Party committee from the given committee or from the Party should be decided at a plenary meeting of the committee concerned, and only if the necessity for his expulsion is recognized by two thirds of the votes.

It is proposed to lay down that the expulsion of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee or from the Party shall be decided by a Party Congress, or, in intervals between congresses, by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the assent of a two-thirds majority of the members of the Plenum being required. The expelled member of the Central Committee shall be automatically replaced by an alternate member of the C.C., in the order established by the Congress when electing the C.C. alternate members.

The effect of these addenda will be to enhance the responsibility of Party members elected to leading Party bodies both to the Communists who elected them and to the Party committees concerned.

Party organizations, as a Party penalty, sometimes demote Party members to the status of candidate members, but this penalty is not provided for in the Rules. It is now proposed to write into the Rules that Party organizations may, if the necessity arises, demote a Party member to the status of candidate member for a period of not more than one year.

Rights of Party Members

Our Party has always attached great importance to the consistent practice of inner-Party democracy. In its internal life, the Communist Party consistently combines the principle of central-

ization with the principle that all leading Party bodies are elective, accountable and recallable.

The first clause of the article on the rights of Party members in the existing Rules states that a Party member has the right to take part in the free and businesslike discussion at Party meetings or in the Party press of practical questions of Party policy.

The right of Party members freely and in businesslike fashion to discuss questions of Party policy is an inalienable right of every Party member, following from inner-Party democracy, and this should be defined in the Rules. It should be said in this connection that the aforementioned formulation somewhat narrows and inaccurately defines the rights of Party members limiting them to the right to take part in the discussion of practical questions of Party policy. It is therefore proposed that the article on the rights of Party members should be worded in the Rules as follows:

"A Party member has the right:

- "a) To take part in the free and businesslike discussion, at Party meetings or in the Party press, of questions of Party policy;
- "b) To criticize any Party worker at Party meetings;
- "c) To elect and be elected to Party bodies;
- "d) To demand to be present in person whenever decisions are taken regarding his activities or conduct;
- "e) To address any question or statement to any Party body, up to and including the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Candidate Members

Now as to the addenda to the chapter in the Rules dealing with candidate members.

According to the Rules, all persons desirous of joining the Party must pass through a probationary period as candidate members, the object of which is to give them an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the program, rules and tactics of the Party and to enable the Party organizations to test their personal qualities.

These requirements are not observed properly by many Party organizations; they do little to assist the candidates to prepare themselves for admission to the Party and do not test their personal qualities. The result is that the probationary period not infrequently becomes a mere formality, and in the case of very many

of the candidates drags out for several years.

Some Party organizations forget all about their candidate members, do not draw them into public and political activity, leave them to their own devices, and virtually disclaim all responsibility for their training.

Among the candidate members with excessive probationary periods there are quite a number who work well in their factory, collective farm or office, take part in public activities, attend study circles on the history of the Party and broaden their theoretical understanding. But because the Party organizations fail to give them proper attention, they remain candidate members for considerable periods.

On the other hand, there are many cases when Party organizations have come to the conviction that a given candidate member has not the personal qualities entitling him to membership in the Party, yet do nothing to settle the question definitely.

The Party cannot tolerate such shortcomings. The Party organizations must pay proper attention to the education of candidate members, and the candidate members themselves must be held more strictly responsible for passing their probationary period, so that the latter may become a real school of Party training and steeling for those preparing to enter the Party.

It is therefore necessary that the chapter in the Rules on "Candidate Members" shall lay down that it is the duty of Party organizations to assist candidate members to prepare for admission to the Party. On the expiration of their probationary periods, the Party organizations shall discuss their fitness for admission at general Party meetings. If a candidate member was unable to prove his fitness for reasons which the primary Party organization considers sufficient, it may prolong his probationary period for a term of not more than one year. Should it be found in the course of his probationary period that a candidate member does not possess the personal qualities warranting his admission to the Party, the Party organization shall pass a decision to remove him from the list of candidate members.

Such an addendum will help to improve the work of training candidate members.

Higher Party Organs

I SHALL NOW pass to the question of the higher Party organs.

FREQUENCY OF PARTY CONGRESSES AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUMS

It would be advisable to lay down that Party Congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee shall be convened at the following intervals: regular congresses—not less than once in four years; plenary meetings of the Central Committee—not less than once in six months.

ALL-UNION PARTY CONFERENCES

No provision is made in the draft Rules for the convening of All-Union Party Conferences.

Under present conditions, there is no need to convene All-Union Party Conferences since all questions of Party policy calling for decision may be examined at Party Congresses or at plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

CONVERSION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU INTO A PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The draft of the amended Rules proposes that the Political Bureau shall be converted into a Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party, with the function of directing the work of the Central Committee in the intervals between its plenary meetings. This change is desirable because the name "Presidium" corresponds more closely to the functions which the Political Bureau actually performs today.

Practice has shown that it would be expedient to concentrate the current organizational work of the Central Committee in one body—the Secretariat, and it is therefore proposed that the Central Committee shall not have an Organization Bureau in the future.

REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION INTO A PARTY CONTROL COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY

Under the Rules adopted by the Eighteenth Congress, the

functions of the Party Control Commission are: to control the way decisions of the Party and of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) are fulfilled by Party organizations and Soviet and economic bodies; to verify the work of local Party organizations; to take action against those who violate the program or Rules of the Party, or Party discipline.

Control of the way Party decisions are carried out and verification of the work of the local Party organizations are vested in the Central Committee, since control and verification constitute an important and inalienable function of Party leadership. The role of the Party control bodies in combating violations of Party discipline and unsatisfactory performance of their duties by Communists must be enhanced. This makes it advisable to reorganize the Party Control Commission into a Party Control Committee of the Central Committee of the Party. It would also be well to institute in the republics, territories and regions a system of representatives of the Party Control Committee who would be independent of the local Party bodies.

The duty should be laid upon the Party Control Committee of verifying how Party members and candidate members observe Party discipline, and taking action against Communists who violate the program or Rules of the Party, or Party and state discipline, against violators of Party ethics who deceive the Party or are dishonest and insincere with it, against slanderers and bureaucrats, and against persons guilty of moral delinquency in private life or other offenses.

It is likewise proposed to lay upon the Party Control Committee the duty of reviewing appeals against decisions of local Party bodies expelling members from the Party or imposing Party penalties upon them.

More Precise Definition of the Functions of Local Party Organizations

SINCE THE Eighteenth Congress our local Party organizations have grown stronger and are showing greater efficiency in all their branches of activity.

Upon the further improvement of all aspects of the Party's organizational and political work, upon the better ideological tem-

pering and broader theoretical knowledge of Party members, and upon the fostering of a lofty Communist mentality in the working people, the success of our new tasks in the building of a communist society will very largely depend.

In view of the higher demands made upon the local Party organizations, and of the fact that, as practice has shown, the existing Rules do not adequately define their tasks and functions, certain additions to the pertinent articles of the Rules are called for.

In the first place, it should be laid down that it is the duty of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and the territorial, regional, area, city and district Party committees to ensure faithful observance of Party directives and to direct the activities of the local Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups within them.

Carrying out of the Party's decisions and directives always has been, and still is, the primary duty and obligation of Party organizations, the basis of their activity. These tasks must be reflected in the Party Rules.

Next, the Party Rules should reflect the duty of Party organizations to stimulate Party criticism and self-criticism, and to inculcate in Communists a spirit of intolerance of shortcomings in the work of Party and state.

The Party imposes upon every Communist the obligation of developing self-criticism and criticism from below, of disclosing shortcomings in the work, and of striving to secure their removal. This makes far more exacting demands upon the Party organizations. In the field of criticism, as in all other fields, there must be no relying upon spontaneous action. It is the bounden duty of the Party organizations to head the growing activity of the Communists, to educate Party members to fight unrelentingly for the elimination of shortcomings, and thus to secure maximum improvement in the work of all our Party, government, economic and public organizations.

The proposal to define these duties in the Rules arises from the necessity of putting an end to the undermining of the importance of criticism and self-criticism, which are a most valuable means of developing inner-Party democracy and of strengthening the ties between the Party organizations and the masses.

Communist education of the working people and Marxist-

Leninist training of Party members hold a big place in the work of the Party organizations.

It is the duty of Party organizations radically to improve all branches of ideological work, and systematically to advance and perfect the ideological and political training of the personnel of all sections of the Party and government apparatus. This is all the more necessary because many Party organizations underrated the importance of ideological work, and the organization of Marxist-Leninist propaganda is still unsatisfactory.

It is necessary to put a stop as speedily as possible to all underrating of the importance of ideological work. It should be written into the Rules that it is the duty of the local Party organizations to direct the study of Marxism-Leninism by members and candidate members, to see to it that they acquire the necessary minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and to organize the communist education of the working people.

Further, the draft Rules provide for the establishment of secretariats in the regional and territorial Party committees, and in the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics. Practice has shown that it is advisable to establish secretariats in order to ensure the more expeditious examination of current questions and the more efficient organization of verification of fulfillment. In order to make sure that the secretariats do not become substitutes for the bureaus, the number of secretaries should be limited to three, and it should be made incumbent upon the secretariats to report all decisions they adopt to the bureaus of their respective regional or territorial Party committees or Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics.

It is also proposed to state in the Rules that regional and territorial Party committees and Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union Republics shall send regular information to the Central Committee and present reports to it on their activities at fixed intervals. This is necessary in order to be able to take timely measures to correct defects in the work of the local Party organizations and to pool valuable features in their work.

Frequency of Plenary Meetings of Committees of Local Party Organizations

IT IS RECOMMENDED that it be laid down that plenary meetings of the committees of local Party organizations shall be con-

vened at the following intervals: plenary meetings of the Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union Republics and of territorial and regional Party committees not less than once in two months; plenary meetings of area Party committees—not less than once in six weeks; plenary meetings of city and district Party committees—not less than once a month.

The convening of plenary meetings at the afore-mentioned intervals arises from the necessity of bringing the leadership of the local Party bodies into closer contact with the activities of the Party organizations. This will enhance the role and stimulate the activity of the members of the committees in solving the problems confronting the Party organizations, and will assist the further development of inner-Party democracy, the stimulation of self-criticism and criticism from below, and more effective control over the way Party directives and decisions of local Party organizations are carried out.

SUCH ARE the principal amendments and addenda to the Rules of the Communist Party which the Central Committee submits for examination to this Congress.

The draft amended Rules have been widely discussed in the primary Party organizations, at conferences, and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics.

Everywhere, the Party masses took an active part in the discussion, and full freedom of criticism prevailed. The draft amended Rules were hailed with deep satisfaction and have met with the unanimous approval of all Communists and of all Party organizations.

The broad discussion of the draft Rules, and the observations made, and the corrections and additions suggested in the course of it, indicate that all Communists are deeply concerned further to promote the strength of the Party and to enhance its efficiency.

The amendments and addenda to the Party Rules proposed by the Central Committee will help to improve organizational work in all the Party organizations and in the Party as a whole.

The path of our Communist Party has been one of glorious battles and victories. Under its leadership, the peoples of the Soviet Union have built a socialist society and, by their epochal victories, are demonstrating to the whole world the superiority

of the socialist economic system over the capitalist, thereby exercising immense influence in strengthening the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, and in uniting all peace-loving peoples against the incendiaries of a new war.

The supreme devotion displayed by our Party in the service of the Motherland has earned it the boundless confidence, love and loyalty of the Soviet people. The strength of our Party lies in its unbreakable ties with the broad mass of the working people. From this life-giving source it draws the energy for new victories. A reflection of our Party's strong ties with the masses, and of the boundless trust reposed in its policy and its leadership, is the growing political and labor activity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of our country.

The Soviet people are working with immense energy for the fulfillment of imposing plans for the further development of the industry, the socialist agriculture, and the science and culture of Soviet society. All over our boundless land gigantic constructive work is in progress—new mills and factories and huge power stations are being built, new canals cut and irrigation systems constructed. The work of remaking nature is assuming ever wider scope.

Our socialist state has withstood every trial with credit, and has emerged stronger and mightier than ever. The moral and political unity of Soviet society and the mutual friendship of its peoples are firmer than they ever were.

The Communist Party is mustering all its forces and rousing the millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals for the accomplishment of even more majestic plans of economic and cultural development.

This Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party, after hearing and discussing the report of the Secretary of the C.C., C.P.S.U. (B.), Comrade Malenkov, on the work of the Central Committee, has unanimously approved its political line and practical work.

This Nineteenth Congress is arming the Party and the Soviet people with a grand program of work in the building of a communist society. The tasks mapped out by the Party Congress open up new vistas of further powerful economic and cultural progress, and of a considerable improvement in the material welfare of the Soviet people. The accomplishment of these tasks will be

a big step in our country's gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Much strength and energy will be required for the successful accomplishment of the outlined tasks. Comrade Stalin teaches us that victory does not come of itself, that it has to be won by stubborn struggle, by surmounting the obstacles and difficulties which arise in our path. The Party is rallying its ranks still more closely, is elevating the significance of the title of Party member to a still higher level, is enhancing the role and responsibility of every Communist and every Party organization in the struggle for the cause of the Party, the cause of communism.

The Party Rules the Congress is about to adopt constitute a document of tremendous organizing and mobilizing power. It will be a valuable means of promoting the ideological education of Communists, cadres of Party and state, in the spirit of Leninism, and of furthering inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism. The Rules will raise the organizing activities of the Party to a new and higher level.

Armed with the all-conquering theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party is uniting the working millions of our country ever more closely beneath the great banner of Lenin and Stalin.

Long live the mighty Communist Party, which is confidently leading the Soviet people to new victories and to the triumph of communism!

Long live the wise leader of our Party and people, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories, Comrade Stalin!

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